

Message Text

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SUBJ: CODEL WOLFF MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER MALIK

BEGIN SUMMARY: DURING VISIT OF ELEVEN MEMBER CONGRESSIONAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON FUTURE US FOREIGN POLICY TO JAKARTA, CHAIRMAN WOLFF AND FOUR OF HIS COLLEAGUES--YATRON, GUYER, GILMAN AND SOLARZ--CALLED ON FOREIGN MINISTER ADAM MALIK AUGUST 7 TO EXPLAIN US DETERMINATION TO MAINTAIN ACTIVE ROLE IN ASIA AND SEEK MALIK'S VIEWS ON US INVOLVEMENT IN REGION. MALIK EMPHASIZED THAT CONTINUING US ROLE IN REGION NEEDED TO PROTECT MUTUAL US-INDONESIAN INTEREST IN MAINTAINING GREAT POWER BALANCE IN AREA AND DISCOURAGING EXPANSIONIST AMBITIONS OF COMMUNIST POWERS WHILE ASEAN NATIONS DEVELOP STRENGTH AND SELF RELIANCE. IN SECURITY FIELD, US PRESENCE AND COOPERATION SHOULD BE DESIGNED TO HELP INDONESIA AND OTHER ASEAN NATIONS STAND ON THEIR OWN FEET--EG BY HELPING THEM INCREASE CAPACITY FOR SURVEILLANCE, PATROL AND TRANSPORT. SUCH COOPERATION WILL ULTIMATELY BE MORE MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL THAN US TROOPS OR BASES, HE SAID. MALIK EXPRESSED SPECIAL CONCERN RE THAILAND. END SUMMARY.

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1. CHAIRMAN WOLFF NOTED INDONESIA'S LEADING POSITION IN SEA AND US DESIRE FOR CONTINUING INVOLVEMENT IN REGION, NOTWITHSTANDING "SETBACK" IN VIETNAM. HE SAID WHILE US HONORS INDONESIA'S INDEPENDENCE, IT ALSO SEEKS "PARTNERSHIP" ROLE AND ASKED MALIK FOR INDONESIA'S VIEWS ON FUTURE US ROLE.

2. MALIK REPLIED US AND INDONESIA HAVE "PARALLEL" INTERESTS. BOTH CHINESE AND SOVIET COMMUNIST REGIMES SEEK TO DOMINATE THIS AREA AND ARE COMPETING FOR INFLUENCE HERE; THEY WOULD SUCCEED IF US WERE PARALYZED SINCE THERE IS NOT YET A "THIRD FORCE" IN THE REGION. US PRESENCE IN AREA THEREFORE NEEDED FOR STABILITY AND EQUILIBRIUM AGAINST COMMUNIST EXPANSION.

3. MALIK SAID INDONESIA AND MANY OTHER ASIAN NATIONS ARE FRIENDS OF US, BUT THEY DO NOT WANT TO BE CLIENTS. THEREFORE, IN CONTRAST TO PAST WHEN NATIONS HERE HUNG BACK AND RELIED ENTIRELY ON SEATO AND US--AN "UNTENABLE" POLICY TODAY--THEY ARE NOW TRYING TO CREATE INDIGENOUS STRENGTH AND STAND ON THEIR OWN FEET. THIS EFFORT TOWARD SELF RELIANCE SERVES US INTERESTS BETTER THAN PREVIOUS POLICY WHICH REQUIRED INVOLVEMENT OF US TROOPS, AND ULTIMATELY PROVED "FUTILE." IN MEANTIME, MALIK SAID, INDONESIA AND OTHER NATIONS IN REGION WELCOME US COOPERATION AND SUPPORT; INDEED, IN NEW POST VIETNAM SITUATION, US COOPERATIVE ROLE IN ASIA SHOULD INCREASE.

4. MALIK STRESSED INDONESIA'S SUPPORT FOR ASEAN REGIONAL COOPERATION AS BEST MEANS TOWARD SELF RELIANCE. HE SAID ASEAN PREVIOUSLY STRESSED ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL COOPERATION; BUT NOW THERE IS CONSENSUS AMONG ASEAN NATIONS, REVEALED AT LAST ASEAN FOREIGN MINISTERS' MEETING IN KUALA LUMPUR, THAT TIME IS RIPE FOR ASEAN POLITICAL AND SECURITY COOPERATION ALSO. US SUPPORT FOR INDONESIA AND ASEAN COUNTRIES SHOULD BE HELP THEM WITH THE MEANS BY WHICH THEY WILL BE ABLE TO HELP THEMSELVES, THEREBY SERVING US INTERESTS. FOR EXAMPLE, INDONESIA NEEDS PATROL CRAFT AND SURVEILLANCE EQUIPMENT, COUNTER-SUBVERSION WEAPONS AND TRANSPORT CAPACITY, WHICH LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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US COULD HELP TO SUPPLY. AN ASEAN ANTI-SUBMARINE SURVEILLANCE NETWORK IN SOUTH CHINA SEA, LINKED INFORMALLY TO A US NETWORK IN PACIFIC, WOULD BE DESIRABLE, HE SAID. MALIK OBSERVED THAT THIS KIND OF SUPPORT IS MORE VALUABLE AND IN KEEPING WITH BOTH US AND ASEAN INTERESTS THAN BASES.

5. IN RESPONSE TO CHAIRMAN WOLFF'S QUESTION WHETHER

US ASSISTANCE TO ASEAN NATIONS SHOULD BE BILATERAL OR MULTILATERAL, MALIK SAID ULTIMATELY US SHOULD AID ASEAN AS AN ENTITY, BUT SINCE ASEAN NOT READY FOR THIS, US AID SHOULD BE BILATERAL.

6. IN LENGTHLY ANALYSIS OF WHY VIETNAM FELL TO COMMUNISTS, MALIK SAID INDONESIA HAD LONG BELIEVED GVN POLICY WAS WRONG; IT NEGLECTED POPULAR SUPPORT AND RELIED TOO HEAVILY ON CONVENTIONAL WARFARE AND SUPPORT FROM US EVEN AFTER PARIS ACCORDS SIGNALLED END OF DIRECT US INVOLVEMENT. EVEN BEFORE FINAL DRV OFFENSIVE, INDONESIA RECOGNIZED SITUATION WAS GRAVE, BUT GVN WOULD NOT ACCEPT ITS ADVISE.

7. MALIK OBSERVED THAT, AS EVIDENCED BY INDONEISIA'S EXPERIENCE AND LESSON OF VIETNAM, ALL COMMUNISTS--SOVIET, CHINESE, OR VIETNAMESE--CONTINUE T APPLY CLASSIC STRATEGY OF CONQUEST. EVEN MAOIST STRATEGY, ALTHOUGH SLIGHTLY MODIFIED, RELIES ON ARMED FORCE FOR VICTORY. CURRENT PROMISE OF "NON-INTERFERENCE" FROM MOSCOW AND PEKING AND INCREASED GESTURES OF FRIENDSHIP ARE NOT SINCERE, HE SAID, NOTING THAT WHILE INDONESIA AND OTHER ASEAN NATIONS MUST SEEK FREINDLY TIES WITH COMMUNIST COUNTRIES, THEY MUST ALSO KEEP GUARD UP.

8. THAILAND IS ILLUSTRATION OF NEED FOR VIGILANCE, MALIK SAID, OBSERVING THAT KUKRIT AND CHATCHAI SEEM NAIVE ABOUT COMMUNIST INTENTIONS, NOTWITHSRANDING INDONESIAN WARNINGS. HE SAID PROPOSED LEGISLATION OF COMMUNIST PARTY IN THAILAND WOULD OPE WAY TO SUBVERSION SINCE COMMUNISTS ARE NOT DEMOCRATIC. DEMOCRACY MUST BE ATTUNED TO A COUNTRY'S STAGE OF DEVELOPMENT. HE ADDED THAT THAILAND SHOULD ALSO SEEK CLOSER LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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CIVILIAN MILITARY TIES, FOLLOWING EXAMPLE OF INDONESIA, AND DEVELOP STRONGER NATIONAL IDEOLOGY TO COMBAT COMMUNISTS.

9. CHAIRMAN WOLFF MENTIONED CONCERN AMONG AMERICAN VOTERS OVER CURRENT ATTACKS ON UN STRUCTURE AND THE MISTAKEN PRESUMPTION THAT UN CAN LEGISLATE. MALIK ACKNOWLEDGED THERE ARE EXTREME ELEMENTS IN UN; INDONESIA IS ALSO WORRIED ABOUT THIS, AND IS TRYING TO TONE THEM DOWN, HE SAID.

10. IN CONCLUSION, CONGRESSMAN GILMAN ASKED MALIK TO EXPLAIN CONSEQUENCES OF US WITHDDRAWL FROM ASIA, NOTING SOME AMERICAN CRITICS ARE CALLING FOR THIS. MALIK SAID INDONESIA IS AWARE OF THESE VOICES, BUT BELIEVES

THAT SINCE US INTERSTS ARE SO INTERWOVEN WITH THOSE
OF ASIAN NATIONS--JAPAN INCLUDED--US WITHDRAWL
WOULD BE UNREALISTIC. NEWSOM

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